

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01 INR-07
L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15
USIA-06 EB-07 TRSE-00 MCT-01 /066 W
-----031216Z 105496 /12

R 021145Z MAY 77
FM AMCONSUL MILAN
TO AMEMBASSY ROME
INFO SECSTATE WAHDC 5367
SETAF VICENZA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 MILAN 0782

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, PINT, IT
SUBJECT: SALAMI AND BALONEY

SUMMARY. MILAN THINKING ABOUT THE NATIONAL POLITICAL SCENE TODAY CONCLUDES THAT THERE IS A SIGNIFICANT CHANGE IN PROGRESS IN THE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE COMMUNISTS AND THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS AND AMONG THE LATER WITH THE SOCIALISTS AND OTHER LAY PARTIES. THE RE-ADJUSTMENT OF RELATIONS THAT WAS INTERPRETED HERE TO BE PRIMARILY COSMETIC (MIAN'S 0541) NOW BEGINS TO LOOK A GOOD DEAL MORE SUBSTANTIAL. THERE ARE MANY WHO BELIEVE THAT POST-WAR ITALIAN POLITICS IS TURNING A CORNER. OTHER CONTACTS CONCEDE THAT, EVEN IF THEY ARE NOT, IT IS BECOMING INCREASINGLY DIFFICULT TO AVOID SLIPPING INTO THE HISTORIC COMPROMISE. END SUMMARY.

1. DURING PAST SEVERAL WEEKS, WE HAVE HAD SUCCESSION OF CONVERSATIONS WITH LOCAL LEADERS OF POLITICAL PARTIES, GOVERNMENT AND THE PRIVATE SECTOR, UNREPORTED FOR LACK OF SECRETARIAL HELP. THESE CONVERSATIONS LEAD US TO RE-EVALUATE LOCAL PERCEPTIONS OF POLITICAL EVOLUTION AT BOTH LOCAL AND NATIONAL LEVEL.

2. AMONG FACTORS DRIVING POLITICAL CHANGE, ECONOMIC CONCERNS
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HAVE RECEDED SOMEWHAT BUT ARE BY NO MEANS ABSENT. IMPORTANCE OF PUBLIC ORDER FACTOR HAS MEANWHILE STEADILY INCREASED AND MUST BE CONSIDERED AS LEADING INFLUENCE UPON PRESENT PHASE OF PARTY ACTIONS. SECONDARILY, FROM DC POINT OF VIEW, PERCEPTION OF INDIRECT BENEFITS FROM PCI INVOLVEMENT IN GOVERNMENT HAS GROWN. RESULT IS GREATER WILLINGNESS ACCEPT OR FAVOR CLOSER PCI COLLABORATION WITH NATIONAL GOVERNMENT IN WHICH

IT WOULD BE ACKNOWLEDGED ESSENTIAL MEMBER OF GOVERNING MAJORITY ALTHOUGH NOT A MEMBER OF THE GOVERNMENT. THIS WOULD NOT BE THE HISTORIC COMPROMISE AS ORIGINALLY BILLED. BUT TO MANY OF OUR CONTACTS, THE DISTINCTION WOULD BE MORE APPARENT THAN REAL. OTHERS BELIEVE THAT A FINE VEIL OF DISTINCTION COULD AND MUST BE MAINTAINED UNTIL NEW NATIONAL ELECTIONS BECOME NECESSARY. ALL AGREE THAT MAINTAINING THE DISTINCTION WOULD BE VERY DIFFICULT.

3. IMF LOAN TAKEN WITH SIGNS OF ECONOMIC RECOVERY AND NATIONAL AGREEMENT BETWEEN LABOR AND MANAGEMENT TO CONTAIN LABOR COSTS HAVE RELIEVED SOME ANXIETIES HERE. HOWEVER, DIFFICULTY IN TRANSFERRING NATIONAL AGREEMENTS TO OPERATIVE LOCAL LEVEL REMAINS. MANAGEMENT HERE IS DELIGHTED WITH BARGAIN REACHED IN ROME. BUT, IT IS WORRIED THAT AT LOCAL LEVEL THESE AGREEMENTS WON'T WASH. MEETING AT LYRIC THEATER OF PLANT LEVEL DISSIDENTS OF ALL LABOR FEDERATIONS (MILAN'S 0646) IS STILL VERY BIG NEWS LOCALLY THAT ROCKED BOTH MANAGEMENT AND LABOR ESTABLISHMENT. THREAT OF PLANT-LEVEL MILITANTS TO REPUDIATE EXISTING UNIONS BECAUSE OF CLAIMED SELL-OUT TO MANAGEMENT AND GOVERNMENT LOOMS AS VERY LARGE OBSTACLE TO CARRYING OUT NATIONAL AGREEMENT. THIS PRINCIPALLY TRUE IN LOMBARDY, TURIN, GENOA AND BOLOGNA, ACCORDING TO MANAGEMENT ORGANIZATION. BUT, THEN, THAT IS HEART OF ITALIAN INDUSTRY. CONSEQUENTLY, MANAGEMENT, LABOR LEADERSHIP AND LEFT WING POLITICOS HERE ARE VERY EDGY ABOUT EXPLOITATION THIS SITUATION BY FAR LEFT WHICH ACTIVE PRIMARILY IN CISL AND UIL BUT ALSO A PROBLEM IN CGIL, PCI AND PSI AS WELL.

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4. SECURITY SITUATION, HOWEVER, LOOKS FROM HERE LIKE MAINSPRING OF PRESENT PHASE OF POLITICAL CHANGE. CHAIN OF MURDERS, BOMBINGS AND KIDNAPPINGS, ESPECIALLY THAT OF DE MARTINO'S SON, HAVE GREATLY INCREASED READINESS OF DC AND PCI TO COME TO TERMS AND FOR PUBLIC HERE TO ACQUIESCE. WILL BE DIFFICULT FOR US READER TO APPRECIATE EXTENT OF TENSION THAT TERRORISM AND SIMPLE CRIMINALITY HAVE CREATED FROM BOTTOM TO TOP OF LOCAL COMMUNITY. WE HAVE REFERRED TO PROBLEM IN VARIOUS PREVIOUS MESSAGES AND IN REQUESTS FOR LESS CONSPICUOUS FULLY ARMORED VEHICLES FOR CONSULATE THAT PROBABLY NOT SEEN BY EMBASSY AND DEPARTMENT POLITICAL OFFICERS. THIS IS REFLECTION OF SITUATION IN WHICH MILAN STREETS NOTABLY MORE DESERTED AFTER DARK, RESTAURANTS ARE LOSING EVENING BUSINESS, USIS EVENING PROGRAMS FALLING IN ATTENDANCE AND MILAN'S BETTER-OFF CLASS GOING WITHOUT JEWELRY, FURS, LUXURY CARS AND OTHER SIGNS OF WEALTH. DINNER GUESTS OFTEN CARRY REVOLVERS IN BELTS OR HAND BAGS AND EXECUTIVES WHO CAN AFFORD IT MOVE ABOUT WITH BODY-GUARD DRIVERS WHILE ARMORING OF PASSENGER CARS IS BOOMING BUSINESS.

5. BY THIS TIME, MILAN'S POLICE AND GENERAL COMMANDING CARBINIERI FOR NORTHERN ITALY TELL US PRIVATELY THEY FEEL HELPLESS TO HALT PROGRESSIVE BREAKDOWN IN LAW AND ORDER. (MILAN'S 0644 AND 0650. PUBLIC AND PRESS HAVE LONG SINCE REACHED SAME CONSLUSION. IT IS SMALL WONDER, THEREFORE, THAT NO OTHER CURRENT ISSUE SO AROUSES LOCAL CONCERN.

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USIA-06 EB-07 TRSE-00 MCT-01 /066 W
-----031217Z 108085 /42

R 021145Z MAY 77
FM AMCONSUL MILAN
TO AMEMBASSY ROME
INFO SECSTATE WASHDC 5368
SETAF VICENZA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 3 MILAN 0782

6. DC AND COMMUNISTS WANT TOUGHER POLICE MEASURES. COMMUNISTS APPARENTLY SEE VIOLENCE AS PERPETRATED BY MAOIST, TROTSKYIST RADICAL LEFT WHICH IS ALSO DISRUPTIVE FACTOR FOR COMMUNISTS TRADE UNIONS. FURTHER, CHILEAN TRAUMA AND INTERPRETATION OF RISE OF ITALIAN FASCISM REPORTEDLY CONTINUE TO CONDITION COMMUNIST THINKING HERE. COMMUNIST LEADERS FEAR THAT RADICAL LEFT WILL TRIGGER RIGHTIST REACTION THAT WILL DESTROY ENTIRE LEFT. CONSEQUENTLY, TOUGH POLICE MEASURES AND COOPERATION WITH CATHOLIC COMMUNITY AGAINST EXTREME LEFT APPEARS TO BE AN IMPORTANT OBJECTIVE FOR LOCAL PCI LEADERS.

7. SOCIALIST OPPOSITION TO SUCH AN APPROACH INCREASINGLY CUTS THEM OFF FROM BOTH DC AND PCI. DESCENDED FROM BOTH ANARCHIST MOVEMENT AND REFORMIST SOCIALISM, PSI IS DEEPLY SPLIT. ITS LOCAL LEADERSHIP IS INCREASINGLY REFORMIST AND RECOGNIZES NEED TO GIVE POLICE MORE POWER. BUT RANK AND FILE IS MORE SYMPATHETIC TO RADICAL-ANARCHIST TRADITION AND VISCERALLY OPPOSED TO POLICE, MILITARISM OR ANY INFRINGEMENT UPON INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM. MOREOVER, MANY LOCAL SOCIALIST LEADERS SHARE VIEW THAT PRESENT TERRORISM IS MASTER-MINDED BY ITALIAN RIGHT WITHIN GOVERNMENT WITH ASSENT OR APPROVAL OF DC. THEY

POINT TO ENDLESS SERIES OF TRIALS FOR BOMBINGS AND MURDERS
THAT IMPLICATE THE COVERT SERVICES OF THE ARMED FORCES AND
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FORMER MEMBERS OF CABINET. THE "STRATEGY OF TENSION" IS A CODE
PHRASE OF THE ITALIAN LEFT FOR GOVERNMENT PERPETRATED VIOLENCE TO
WIN VOTES FOR CONSERVATIVE PARTIES OR TO JUSTIFY TOUGHER
POLICE POWERS TO CRACK DOWN ON LEFT. THE LEFT, BOTH MODERATE
AND RADICAL, AS DISTINGUISHED FROM THE COMMUNISTS, CONTENDS
THAT THE POLICE HAVE ALL THE POWER THEY NEED TO SUPPRESS
VIOLENCE IF THEY REALLY WANT TO DO SO. WHETHER TRUE OR NOT,
THE IDEA IS EXTRAORDINARILY WIDELY ACCEPTED ON THE ITALIAN
LEFT AND HELPS TO EXPLAIN WHY ANY INCREASE IN THE POWER OF THE
POLICE IS SO STUBBORNLY OPPOSED.

8. AT THE SAME TIME, THE DC HAS ALSO LOST SOME OF ITS HOPE
OF BEING ABLE TO RE-ESTABLISH AN ALLIANCE WITH THE SOCIALISTS
AND OTHER LAY PARTIES TO ESCAPE A DEAL WITH THE PCI - AT LEAST
IN THE NEAR TERM. WHILE LOMBARDY CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS WOULD
UNQUESTIONABLY PREFER A NEW NATIONAL COALITION WITH THE LAY
PARTIES, ALL OF THEIR EFFORTS TO THAT END SINCE JUNE 1976
HAVE FAILED. MOREOVER, THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL LEADERSHIP
OPENLY FAVORS WORKING WITH THE COMMUNISTS AND THE RECENTLY
CONCLUDED MILAN PROVINCIAL CONGRESS OF THE PSI (MILAN'S 0716)
REVEALED THE AS-DEEP AS-EVER HOSTILITY OF THE PSI RANK-AND-
FILE TO COLLABORATION WITH THE DC. LOMBARDY PSI LEADERS,
HOWEVER MUCH THEY MAY THINK DIFFERENTLY, DO NOT DARE TO SAY
SO.

9. FOR THE DC OF ALL FACTIONS, THIS SITUATION POSES A GRAVE
PROBLEM. THE ABILITY OF THE STATE TO DEFEND ITSELF AND ITS
CITIZENS IS AN INCREASINGLY OBSESSIVE CONCERN. THE ONLY POL-
ITICAL FORCE READY AND ABLE TO PERMIT A STRONG CENTRAL GOVERN-
MENT SEEMS TO BE THE PCI. AND IT HAS SEEMED TO DEMONSTRATE
DURING THE PAST YEAR AND MORE, IN LOCAL GOVERNMENT AND IN ROME,
THAT IT IS PRUDENT, RESPONSIBLE AND ABLE TO MAKE AND KEEP ITS
PROMISES - AT LEAST AS WELL AS THE DC ITSELF.

10. BEYOND THIS, THE DC LOCALLY DETECTS SOME ELECTORAL BENEFIT
IN PCI INVOLVEMENT IN GOVERNMENT. EXPERIENCE AT THE LOCAL LEVEL
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IN NORTHERN ITALY WITH PCI PARTICIPATION IN THE MAJORITY HAS
DONE THE COMMUNISTSHTITTLE GOOD AND SOME HARM. NONE OF ITS
LOCAL ADMINISTRATORS HAS MADE A PARTICULARLY BRILLIANT SHOWING.
IN FACT, LOCAL GOVERNMENT HAS SO FAR CONTINUED LITTLE CHANGED

FROM THE LONG PERIOD DURING WHICH THE DC OCCUPIED THE POSITION NOW HELD BY THE COMMUNISTS. MEANWHILE, THE DC HAS BENEFITTED FROM BEING IN THE OPPOSITION. WHILE THE RESULTS OF THE CASTEL-LAMARE DI STABIA ELECTIONS ARE OPEN TO VARYING INTERPRETATIONS, THERE ARE AT LEAST SOME CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS HERE WHO SEE THEM AS FURTHER EVIDENCE THAT PCI RESPONSIBILITY FOR GOVERNMENT HELPS THE DC.

11. LOCAL DC POLITICIANS ALSO SEE BENEFITS FROM PCI ABSTENTION IN SUPPORT OF THE ANDREOTTI GOVERNMENT. ONE MILAN LEADER POINTED OUT THAT THERE HAS NOT BEEN A PERIOD WITHIN HIS MEMORY WHEN THE DC HAD BEEN ABLE TO GET SO MUCH WORTHWHILE WORK DONE. AS A RESULT OF THE ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF THE ANDREOTTI GOVERNMENT, THE DC WAS RE-GAINING PUBLIC SUPPORT - THANKS TO COMMUNIST BACKING. MOREOVER, THE DC SEES THE PCI AS MORE DIVIDED THAN AT ANY TIME IN RECENT YEARS. ITS ACCEPTANCE OF RESPONSIBILITY FOR UNPOPULAR LEGISLATION AND LABOR-MANAGEMENT AGREEMENTS HAS CAUSED IT DIVISIONS FROM BOTTOM TO TOP. AND THE SPECTACULAR REVOLT OF UNIVERSITY STUDENTS IN ROME AND BOLOGNA, TAKEN WITH THE STRESSES OF THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT HAVE SHAKEN UP THE COMMUNIST UNIVERSE TO A GREATER EXTENT THAN ANY EVENT SINCE THE CZECH INVASION. LOCAL POLITICAL SEERS ARE DIVIDED ON HOW MUCH OF AN ELECTORAL ADVANTAGE THIS OFFERS THE DC. BUT THERE IS A SENSE THAT IT IS GOOD NEWS FOR THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS AND THAT THESE INTERNAL DIVISIONS SHOULD BE FED BY DRAWING THE PCI INTO GREATER RESPONSIBILITY FOR GOVERNMENT SHORT OF ACTUAL MEMBERSHIP IN THE CABINET.

12. THIS IS NOT A UNANIMOUS LOCAL VIEW. BUT THERE SEEMS TO BE AGREEMENT TO ACCEPT MORE RISK AT THE NATIONAL LEVEL AND TO SET THE STAGE FOR NEW NATIONAL ELECTIONS IN 1979 OR EARLIER. THE DC RIGHT WING HAS LONG BEEN ATTRACTED TO A NEW SHOWDOWN
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WITH THE PCI. NOW THERE ARE SOME SIGNS THAT THE CENTER IS APPROACHING THAT CONCLUSION AS WELL. THE LOCAL DC ORGANIZATION TELLS US, FOR EXAMPLE, THAT ITS MARCHING ORDERS ARE TO GEAR UP FOR ELECTIONS AND IT IS DOING SO WITH SOME CONFIDENCE.

13. THE LARGEST HOLE IN OUR KNOWLEDGE OF THE LOCAL SCENE CONCERNS THE COMMUNISTS THEMSELVES SINCE THEIR MOST IMPORTANT LOCAL LEADERS DO NOT HOLD LOCAL GOVERNMENT OFFICE AND ARE THEREFORE NOT ACCESSIBLE TO US. WE BELIEVE, HOWEVER, THAT THEY STILL CONCLUDE THAT THE BENEFITS TO BE DERIVED FROM A STEP-AT-A-TIME APPROACH TO ENTERING NATIONAL GOVERNMENT OUTWEIGHT THE PRICE THEY ARE NOW PAYING. ROSA LUXEMBOURG CALLED THE APPROACH SALAMI TACTICS AND PRESUMABLY LOCAL COMMUNIST LEADERS THINK THE TERM WAS MADE FOR ITALY. FUNDAMENTAL TO THEIR TACTICS, AND CERTAINLY ONE OF THEIR MOST IMPORTANT POST-WAR ACHIEVEMENTS, IS TO KEEP THE PSI AND THE

DC SPLIT. IT IS THAT SPLIT THAT GIVES THE PCI ITS PRESENT
DECISIVE POWER.

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L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15

USIA-06 EB-07 TRSE-00 MCT-01 /066 W

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14. OUR INTERPREATION OF LOCAL THINKING TODAY, THEREFORE, IS
SOMETHING LIKE THIS. THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS FEEL THE NEED
TO STRENGTHEN THE POLITICAL POWER OF THE ANDREOTTI GOVERNMENT
ESPECIALLY TO DEAL WITH THE INTERNAL SECURITY PROBLEM. THEY
SEE NO HOPE OF NEEDED SUPPORT FROM THE PSI OR THE MINOR PARTIES.
THE COMMUNISTS ARE READY AND ABLE TO OFFER THE SUPPORT NEEDED
AND MAY BE WILLING AND ABLE TO DO SO WITHOUT IMPAIRING THE
TECHNICAL PURITY OF A NONE-PCI GOVERNMENT - AT LEAST FOR THE
SHORT TERM. WHEN THE PCI WILL NO LONGER GIVE SUPPORT WITHOUT
ACTUAL PARTICIPATION, THE SHOWDOWN WILL COME IN EARLY NATIONAL
ELECTIONS.

15. SUCH A RATIONALE FOR A DE FACTO DC-PCI MAJORITY IN PARLI-
AMENT IS ONLY AN EXTENSION OF THE OPEN MAJORITY PIONEERED IN
THE LOMBARDY REGIONAL GOVERNMENT IN 1975. IT DOES NOT COME,
THEREFORE, AS A SHOCK TO THE LOCAL PUBLIC OR POLITICAL COMMUNITY
EVEN THOUGH THERE ARE MANY, INCLUDING MONTANELLI'S GIORNALE,
WHO ARE RESOLUTELY OPPOSED TO SUCH A NEW STEP AND MANY MORE
WHO LOOK UPON IT WITH MISGIVINGS.

16. THE OUTSIDE OBSERVER CAN ONLY MIRROR SOME OF THE UNCERTAINTY
OF LOCAL POLITICAL PRACTITIONERS. WILL THERE EVER BE A CLEAR-
CUT UP OR DOWN DECISION ON PCI ADMISSION TO THE NATIONAL GOVERN-
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MENT? MANY LOMBARDY DC LEADERS AND OTHERS HERE SEEM READY,
ALBEIT UNWILLINGLY, TO TAKE THE GAMBLE THAT THE DC CAN GIVE
THE PCI ONE LAST THIN SLICE OF SALAMI. MONTANELLI AND MANY
OTHERS LIKE HIM CALL THAT BALONEY. OUR PERSPECTIVE IN THE
SPRING HAZE OF THE PO VALLEY IS TOO LIMITED TO VENTURE
A GUESS. BUT WE SENSE THAT THE SEA CHANGE BEGUN THROUGHOUT THE
NORTH WITH THE ABORTION REFERENDUM OF 1974 IS GOING ONE
STEP FARTHER ALMOST WITHOUT OUT FEELING THE PAIN.FINA

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: REPORTS, INTELLIGENCE ASSESSMENTS, POLITICAL SITUATION
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Sent Date: 02-May-1977 12:00:00 am
Decaption Date: 01-Jan-1960 12:00:00 am
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1977MILAN00782
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D770154-0770
Format: TEL
From: MILAN
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1977/newtext/t197705104/aaaadmbe.tel
Line Count: 343
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: c43ee287-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 7
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 03-Mar-2005 12:00:00 am
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 2332147
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: SALAMI AND BALONEY SUMMARY. MILAN THINKING ABOUT THE NATIONAL POLITICAL SCENE TODAY CONCLUDES THAT THERE IS A SIGNIFICANT CHANGE
TAGS: PFOR, PINT, IT
To: ROME
Type: TE
vdkgvkey: odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/c43ee287-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009